1: Coon . E-5 . (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn. 291

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el haik is the Arab haik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *hash*, the men's haik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance. 177 291

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them. 294

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gzennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1] 294 439

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs 294 531

[1] El Bekri, p. 167.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

294 531 is a cogged wheel with four spokes. On the hood this design is complete, but on the cuff only half of it is represented. This design is difficult to explain, owing to the utter absence of wheels for purposes of traction in the Rif, unless it be connected with a prehistoric sun-motif.

Riffian embroidery is characterised by another peculiar feature, the presence of short tufts of silk set at intervals on the borders of the designs. The tufts are much more prominent in the embroidery of the Maritime tribes of the western Rif and of the Ghomara than in that of the eastern or central Rif. (See plate 27.)

291 **Footwear.** Footwear was formerly restricted to men, women going barefoot at all times. The harshness of this prohibition was somewhat mitigated by the fact that women seldom went out of doors in winter when snow was on the ground.

Masculine footwear is divided into sandals, buskins, stilts, and clogs, and these types have a most significant and interesting distribution. There are two kinds of sandals (*tbisira*), those made of *halfa* grass and those made of scrub palmetto.

The *halfa* sandals are constructed as follows: the maker braids a rope of *halfa*, about eight to ten feet long. He then ties this in a ring, and presses it to an oval representing the size and shape of the foot. The long piece, dangling from the knot, he draws between the sides of the oval so as to make a third strand in the middle, and runs what is left over and under these three pieces until the intervening spaces have all been filled in. Thus he has obtained a flat foot-shaped sole. By loosening strands, he inserts the remaining cord, still uncut, so as to form straps for attachment. The cord goes around the heel in back, and crosses itself over the toes, not going between any of the toes. The loose end is cut to a convenient length, and when the sandals have been put on and the cord tightened, it is tied at the cross in the front-straps. This makes an extremely convenient and durable sandal, easily put on and taken off, and one that will not slip on rocks or come off unexpectedly. (See plate 28.)

The palmetto sandals are made as follows: the maker braids a long cord of palmetto leaves, and coils these into a flat oval; then with a thinner cord of the same material and a wooden needle he sews the sole together from side to side; the resultant sole is the same type as that of the rope sandals worn by the Basques and by many Spaniards. This sole is, of course, but one braid in thickness, and is not nearly so durable as that of the *halfa* sandal.

The palmetto sandal differs from the *halfa* type not only in the construction of its sole but also in its attachment to the foot. In the palmetto type the cord left over from the sole is cut free, knotted at one end, and then run through the sole from beneath at a point between the great and second toes. From here it is looped through one side of the sole, carried around so as to form a heel-strap, looped through the other side, and attached to itself at a point two inches from where it emerges from the sole, between the toes. This attachment may be spliced in and permanent, or tied on and temporary, permitting later adjustment. The straps on the *halfa* sandal are always tied so that they may be adjusted later. (See plate 28.)

The toe-strap sandal is much easier to slip on and off than the cross-strap type, but is not nearly so durable. The sole wears out much more quickly than that of the cross-strap type, and the toe-strap is likely to pull through the sole. Thorns and other sharp objects pierce the toe-strap type, but seldom penetrate the cross-strap variety.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[198] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [294] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the [286] last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!